

## Message Text

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TO USDEL DORADO IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 283741

EXDIS TOSEC 93

FOLLOWING REPEAT ANKARA 9969 ACTION SECSTATE INFO NICOSIA

ATHENS DATED 30 DEC 74

QUOTE

S E C R E T ANKARA 9969

EXDIS

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM THE AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, TU, CY, GR

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH FONMIN ESENBEL

1. FONMIN ESENBEL ASKED ME TO COME SEE HIM MONDAY EVENING, DEC 30. HE SAID HE HAD BEEN REFLECTING ON THE ORAL MESSAGE WHICH I HAD DELIVERED ON YOUR BEHALF LAST FRIDAY AND HE NOW WISHED TO GIVE YOU "A MORE CONSIDERED REPLY." WHILE HE DESCRIBED HIS REPLY AS AN ORAL MESSAGE, HE GAVE ME A WRITTEN TEXT WHICH I AM SENDING TO YOUR IN THE IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING TELEGRAM.

2. BY AND LARGE, TODAY'S MESSAGE MAKES THE SAME BASIC POINTS I REPORTED FOLLOWING LAST FRIDAY'S MEETING EXCEPT THAT:

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A) ESENBEL NOTES THAT THE BRITISH STILL HAVE NOT MADE A "POSITIVE- OR

DEFINITIVE RESPONSE WITH RESPECT TO HIS SUGGESTION CONCERNING WOMEN AND CHILDREN (AND AGED AND SICK) ON THE SBA'S, AND HE INDICATED THAT ANY HELP YOU CAN BE WITH THE BRITISH ON THIS SCORE WOULD BE MUCH APPRECIATED.

B) HE GOES TO SOME PAINS TO ASSOCIATE YOU, ON THE BASIS OF WHAT HE BELIEVES YOU SAID EARLIER IN NEW YBRK IN SEPT, WITH THE TURKISH POSITION RE THE NECESSITY FOR FIVE-PARTY INVOLVEMENT IN THE SOLUTION OF THE CYPRUS PROBLEM.

C) HE STRESSES THAT A RECONVENED GENEVA CONFERENCE, IN ADDITION TO RATIFYING THE AGREEMENTS REACHED IN THE CLERIDES-DENKTASH TALKS, SHOULD ALSO BE USED TO ENABLE GREECE AND TURKEY IN FACE-TO-FACE DISCUSSIONS, TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS WHICH DENKTASH AND CLERIDES ARE NOT ABLE TO SETTLE.

D) HE SPECIFICALLY STATES THAT "TURKEY WOULD IN NO WAY CONSENT THAT THE EXISTING SYSTEM OF GUARANTEES BE ENLARGED, MODIFIED OR ADULTERATED"--AND HE AGAIN ASSERTS (THIS TIME ON THE BASIS OF YOUR REMARKS AT BRUSSELS AND YOUR MOST RECENT MESSAGE TO HIM) THAT YOUR ARE IN AGREEMENT.

E) HE REACTS MUCH MORE STRONGLY AND NATIONALISTICALLY THAN HE DID IN OUR CONVERSATION ON FRIDAY TO THE REFERENCE IN YOUR MESSAGE TO THE CONTINUING CONGRESSIONAL PROBLEM

3. IN ADDITION TO THE ABOVE POINTS ENCOMPASSED IN THE PAPER HE HANDED ME, IT DEVELOPED IN OUR CONVERSATION THAT ESNBEL WAS PERSONALLY TROUBLED BY THE IMPLICATION WHICH HE HAD READ INTO YOUR EARLIER MESSAGE THAT HE HAD RENEGED ON THE WORD HE HAD GIVEN TO YOU AT BRUSSELS. (THIS PROBABLY ACCOUNTS FOR THE SOMEWHAT UNGRACEFUL STIFFNESS OF SOME OF THE PASSAGES IN THE RESPONSE HE HANDED ME TO-DAY). I SAID THAT IN YOUR MESSAGE YOU HAD NOT IN ANY SENSE SUGGESTED A WILLFUL VIOLATION OF AGREEMENTS REACHED IN BRUSSELS BUT RATHER HAD EXPRESSED CONCERN, WHICH I WAS SURE YOU CONTINUED TO FEEL, OVER THE FACT THAT NEW ISSUES HAD BEEN ALLOWED TO INSERT THEMSELVES INTO THE SITUATION WITH THE RESULT THAT WHAT HAD BEEN AGREED UPON IN BRUSSELS HAD NOT YET TAKEN PLACE. AT THE SAME TIME I STRESSED THAT THE GOG  
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WAS PREPARED TODAY TO AGREE TO POLITICAL TALKS AND THAT IT WAS THE GOT WHICH WAS NOT. TO THIS I ADDED THAT I KNEW YOU CONTINUED TO BE OPPOSED TO PUBLIC PRESSURE TACTICS AGAINST TURKEY AS YOU HAD EVER BEEN, AND THAT IN YOUR MESSAGE YOU WERE SIMPLY TRYING TO GET ACROSS A REALISTIC APPRAISAL OF THE CONGRESSIONAL SITUATION WE WERE CONFRONTING. I ADDED ALSO, ON THE BASIS OF MY OWN EXTENSIVE TALKS WITH CONGRESSMEN ON MY LAST VISIT TO WASHINGTON, THAT WE DID NOT NEED TO SHOW SPECTACULAR RESULTS IN THE TALKS BY FEB 5, BUT WE

WERE GOING TO BE IN THE GRAVEST KIND OF DIFFICULTY WITH CONGRESS IF, BY THEN THE TALKS WERE NOT WELL UNDERWAY AND IF SOME PROGRESS HAD NOT BEEN ACHIEVED.

4. THIS LED ESENBEL TO ASSURE ME THAT HE AND THE GOT WANTED VERY MUCH TO GET THE TALKS STARTED RIGHT AWAY, AND IN THIS CONNECTION HE WAS ENCOURAGED BY THE PROGRESS WECKMANN HAD APPEARED TO BE MAKING IN NARROWING THE GAP IN THE FIVE-PARTY ISSUE. HE EXPRESSED GRATITUDE THAT WECKMANN WAS CONTINUING HIS EFFORTS IN THIS REGARD (AND ASSUMED THAT WECKMANN'S MOST RECENT INITIATIVES GREW OUT OF THE REQUEST ESENBEL CONVEYED TO YOU THROUGH ME IN OUR MEETING LAST FRIDAY. ESENBEL SAID CLERIDES' POSITION IS NOW "MUCH BETTER" IN THAT HE HAS TOLD DENKTASH THAT HE AGREES THAT AT A RECONVENED FIVE-PARTY CONFERENCE "WE CAN REPORT WHAT WE HAVE SETTLED AND THEY CAN DISCUSS IT." ESENBEL ADDED THAT WHILE THIS WAS A MUCH BETTER POSITION, CLERIDES HAD STOPPED SHORT OF SAYING "AND APPROVE" THE AGREEMENTS WHICH HAD BEEN REACHED. CLERIDES ALSO SAID, ACCORDING TO ESENBEL, THAT AS HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT AGREEMENTS WOULD BE REACHED BY HIM AND DENKTASH, HE COULD NOT KNOW WHETHER THE PRESENT GUARANTORS WOULD WANT TO GUARANTEE THESE AGREEMENTS--AND HE HAD ADDED THAT PERHAPS "THE NUMBER OF GUARANTORS MIGHT BE EXPANDED." DESPITE THESE UNACCEPTABLE LOOSE ENDS, ESENBEL REPEATED HIS VIEW THAT WECKMANN HAD MADE MUCH USEFUL PROGRESS. THE KEY, ESENBEL SAID, WAS NOW TO GET CLERIDES TO COME ONE STEP FURTHER AND SAY THAT WHAT HE AND DENKTASH HAD AGREED TO COULD BE REPORTED TO A FIVE-PARTY CONFERENCE FOR THE LATTER'S PERUSAL "AND AGREEMENT." HE URGED THAT ANYTHING WE COULD DO, NOT ONLY IN NICOSIA BUT IN ATHENS, TO GET ACCEPTANCE OF THIS WOULD AGAIN BE VERY MUCH APPRECIATED.

5. THE REMAINDER OF OUR MEETING WAS TAKEN UP WITH ESENBEL DELIVERING AN EXTENSIVE DISCOURSE ON THE HISTORY OF THE ZURICH ACCORDS WITH HIS ESSENTIAL POINT BEING THAT IT WAS GREECE AND TURKEY AT ZURICH (THE CYPRIOTS WERE NOT EVEN PRESENT) WHO SETTLED  
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ALL THE PROVISIONS OF THE CYPRUS CONSTITUTION AS WELL AS THE GUARANTEES AND RIGHTS OF INTERVENTION. ESENBEL'S PURPOSE, OF COURSE, WAS TO EMPHASIZE THE ABSOLUTE ESSENTIALITY OF TURKEY AND GREECE BEING OFFICIAL PARTIES TO ANY FINAL ARRANGEMENTS WORKED OUT IN THE CURRENT DISPUTE. MY ANSWER WAS TO CONCEDE THE OBVIOUS IMPORTANCE THAT TURKEY ATTACHES TO THIS ISSUE, BUT TO REITERATE THE UNWIS-

DOM OF TURKEY'S PLAYING INTO GREEK HANDS BY ALLOWING SIDE ISSUES, HOWEVER IMPORTANT, TO BLOCK THE START OF POLITICAL TALKS.

MACOMBER

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